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Anarcho-Pacifism: Heykar with the Wooden Sword!

Unity of Communist Militants
(Ettehad-e-Mobarezan-e-Komonist)

Anarcho-Pacifism : Peykar with the Wooden Sword!

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Besooy-e-Sosyalism (Towards Socialism)

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Anarcho-Pacifism: Peykar with the Wooden Sword!

The rapid turn in the political situation which the outbreak of war caused, placed on the agenda of the communist movement the correct assessment of the new conditions and the determination of those methods, slogans and forms of political activity which would adapt the tactical policy of the proletariat to these new conditions. But the communist movement, in encountering this turn, showed once more and for the umpteenth time that without a firm theoretical foundation, without a proletarian programme and tactical policy, it would bow down and reveal its weakness before such turns which disrupt all the acrobatic equations of the different tendencies [existing] between Marxism and populism. The various tendencies within the movement, tendencies which we have also said previously, arrive in their programmatic views at a single reformist origin and make grounds therefrom in the two forms of opportunism and anarcho-syndicalism, have [now] emerged in newer forms in the face of the question of war and in putting forward their tactics. The two new forms of deviations in whose context these tendencies have now appeared are social-chauvinism and anarcho-pacifism. Without struggling against these deviations, without extensively exposing the anti-Marxist bases of these deviations, our communist movement

* I.e., "Struggle with the Wooden Sword". The title is also a reference to the Organisation of Peykar (Struggle) on the Path to Emancipate the Working Class -Ed.

TRANSLATORS' NOTE

- 1- The "Student Supporters of the 'Unity of Communist Militants'-Britain" accepts full responsibility for the translations of the works of the Unity of Communist Militants.
- 2- The programme of the U.C.M., published in English in March 1982, is issue No.2 of the present translation series. Unfortunately this fact was not indicated on the cover of the work at the time of publication.
- 3- We request our readers to send us their comments on the quality of the translations and thus help us to correct the mistakes that may have occurred.

Student Supporters of the
'Unity of Communist Militants'-
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will not be able to adopt a truly proletarian policy for the creation of the independent rank of the proletariat and thereby for the organisation of the revolutionary front against the certain assault of the bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolution which the present war is an emphatic warning of. Here, we deal particularly with the deviation of the Organisation of Peykar which, in contrast to many other currents which have arrived at social-chauvinism in the extension of their opportunism, has at least this advantage that it shows its "good intention of being socialist" by the attempt to remain faithful to the theory of Marxism.

This time and against "this sharp turn" Peykar has expressly resolved on taking up a Bolshevik tactic - or in reality, it should be said, the tactic of the Bolsheviks - and to do this, it is inevitably led to the theory of imperialist wars in order that it can justify its arbitrary tactic of "turning the reactionary war into a civil war". Peykar is not aware that tactic cannot be taken up arbitrarily and only he can acquire a Bolshevik tactic who has been able to base his tactical policy on the fundamental realities concerning the mutual relationships between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie at this stage of the revolution and in this definite historical juncture; and who, by assessing every new political situation and the peculiarities of any given moment, poses and adopts this tactical policy in the form of definite tactics which correspond to the conditions and peculiarities of that political situation. That how Peykar has not been able to consider the fundamental realities in the mutual relationships between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and has inevitably been drawn into

oscillation between anarchism and pacifism in assessing the new conditions and in putting forward the tactic for these conditions, and how it has been drawn to breach a series of the principles of communist tactics, such as the theory of uprising, revolutionary situation, etc., is a matter which must be examined in detail. But first we discuss the more fundamental errors - more fundamental theoretically - which Peykar has exhibited, while assessing the new conditions, in trivialising the Marxist method of concrete analysis of a concrete war, and also the confusion it has displayed by its lack of understanding of the imperialist relations.

1- TRIVIALISATION OF THE MARXIST METHOD OF CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF A CONCRETE WAR.

"War is the continuation of policy by violent means". Peykar has been repeating and repeats uninterruptedly this thesis which Marxists apply for presenting their theoretical views on war and on the attitude to every concrete war, and mobilises at its forefront an army of quotations from Lenin in order to convince the reader that it has given a concrete analysis of the present war. And this is the outcome of Peykar's attempt:

"Thus, the purpose of the reactionary Ba'ath and Islamic Republic regimes is, in addition to their expansionist intentions, the suppression of revolution and the deviation of the minds of the masses of workers, peasants and other toilers from the "internal" question to a "national" enemy. This is the policy to which not only the above regimes, but also the Shah's regime and all the reactionary regimes throughout history

have resorted." (Peykar's Manifesto, Supplement to No.73, last paragraph from the section entitled "Iran-Iraq war has a reactionary nature". Our emphasis)

Peykar is not aware that precisely because of the very reason which it itself mentions, i.e., because the policy whose continuation it sees as the Iran-Iraq war "is the policy to which all the reactionary regimes throughout history have resorted", it has failed and evades the concrete analysis of this concrete war and has caricaturized the thesis "war is the continuation of policy". The fact that all the reactionary wars "throughout history" have been the continuation of the "reactionary policies and past conflicts between the two countries" (Peykar, leaflet No.98), "the continuation of policies and the past antagonism between the two regimes the policy and the antagonism which have clear historical backgrounds and identity" (Supplement to Peykar 75), "the continuation of fratricide, the continuation of false propaganda of both sides" (Supplement to Peykar 75), and briefly the continuation of the brawlings of two regimes, two countries, two ruling classes in two countries, two Khans, Sultans and so on, and that the war itself is the definite point at which the brawlings of the sides have become so acute that by confronting one another at that definite point the crackling of powder and gun, and the clanking noise of swords is heard and from that point onwards the "conflicts", "antagonisms" and "policies" of the two sides continue by violent means; and also the fact that such wars have no other gain for the masses but "increase in the death toll, poverty and destitution, high prices and homelessness" and the loss of "life and

property" and integrity of the masses and their suppression, are matters which are completely apparent to any reformist bourgeois or petty-bourgeois who may not even be acquainted with Marxist theses and terms and if his humanitarian sentiments have not been shattered by the war he, too, would cry out that such wars are the continuation of the reactionary policies of both sides and are generally unjust.

The Marxist application of the thesis of "war is the continuation of policy by violent means" in the concrete analysis of any concrete war requires that firstly we have carried out, from the viewpoint of the fundamental relations of classes, a precise assessment of the real content and the nature of that policy which has led to the war. Peykar mobilises an army of quotations from Lenin and continuously refers to this or that statement of Lenin on wars of the epoch of imperialism and imperialist wars, but it forgets that before concretely treating imperialist wars, and for a concrete attitude on such wars, Lenin had initially defined, by precisely examining the fundamental relations of classes at this stage in the development of capitalism, the real content and the nature of imperialism's policy. The fundamental relations of classes in this highest stage of development of capitalism are such that, 1) the contradictions between labour and capital in the advanced capitalist countries reach utmost acuteness and maturity; 2) in order to alleviate these contradictions capital moves to outside the boundaries and in seeking to obtain a super-profit which it cannot extract from the proletariat of its own country, it draws backward nations to

the circle of the single system of world capitalism on the basis of the specific division of the world into metropolitan and dominated countries. The policy of imperialism, a policy which stems from these economic relations, consists of reaction and national oppression. Reaction towards the workers' movement and oppression of the dominated nations whose internal economic relations become based on the production of imperialist super-profits. Imperialist war is the continuation of imperialist policy. And this change in the form of imperialism's policy into imperialist wars stems from a necessity which the continuation of the domination of capital for the expansion of the spheres of super-profit production - which have been completely divided among the imperialist capitals and can only be re-divided - poses before the whole system of capitalism. Now, in what desirabilities and in what covers this necessity imposes and manifests itself in the consciousness, will, endeavour and the organisations of the world bourgeoisie, and which definite groups of the world imperialist bourgeoisie it brings face to face with one another and finally, from the viewpoint of its course of events and as it appears in the eyes of any common petty-bourgeois, in the continuation of which "policies", "conflicts", "propaganda" and "antagonisms" of which two groups of imperialist countries, it finds expression, is a matter of secondary significance. One who wants to apply the Leninist method and who does not want to turn Lenin's words into a cover for trivialising the Leninist method, must firstly, before dealing with the course of events and the outbreak of war from the midst of the conflicts of the regimes, countries and the ruling classes of the two countries, precisely

examine the more profound and fundamental realities concerning the mutual relations of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and must, by defining the real content of the bourgeoisie's policy, apply the thesis of "war is the continuation of policy" in the concrete attitude to any concrete war with respect to how the antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have concretely emerged.

Peykar does not understand that to start from the level of "policies", "conflicts", "antagonisms" and "propaganda" of the two countries and the parties in the war, without having primarily examined the fundamental relations of the classes and without having defined the real nature and content of the bourgeoisie's policy, is wrong, anti-Marxist and subordination to petty-bourgeois consciousness; and the more it insists that "the reasons for the outbreak of the war and its aims must be determined by a concrete analysis of all the past conflicts, between the parties of the war, which led to the adoption of a violent form for the advancement of the same policies" the more it places itself in the category of those friends of Marxism who, whenever a thesis in Marxism acquires practical significance, trivialise and caricaturize it.

2- CONFUSION IN UNDERSTANDING IMPERIALIST RELATIONS.

One cannot examine the crux of Peykar's errors in trivialising Marxist method of concrete analysis of concrete war, without pointing to the confusion it displays in its lack of understanding of imperialist relations. But since this confusion of Peykar manifests

itself around the question of political dependence - or in the more specific term that Peykar itself uses, the question of "being the agent of" - we point out firstly and briefly the way that this question is posed in Lenin's theory of imperialism.

Lenin's theory has explained imperialism above all else as the highest stage of development of capitalism and the epoch of transformation of capitalism into a world system, on the basis of the specific division of the world into metropolitan and dominated countries and emphasises this point as the "nature of imperialism" and "its essence". Imperialism is a system in which firstly the relations of labour and capital in any country and within the boundaries of any given state are produced and reproduced as a part of the world system of imperialist capitalism and according to the specific position of each country in this system. Secondly, the internal mutual relations of the bourgeoisie in the whole of this system, and of its different strata within the boundaries of each country, which are determined on the basis of the relations of the whole of this class with the proletariat, necessarily lead to the hegemony of monopoly and imperialist bourgeoisie within this class. The fact of to what extent the regime or the government of a dominated country is in complete dependence or in intermediary forms of political dependence on this or that imperialist association or state; or in other words, the fact whether the government of the bourgeoisie in a dominated capitalist country is immediately led and administered as an "agent" by the direct, close and dependent representatives of this or that imperialist state, is a matter which

is wholly dependent on the level of development of the struggle of the masses against imperialism and in particular the class struggle of the whole of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and the resulting outcomes of this struggle in that definite dominated country, at any definite historical juncture. Imperialist capital and imperialist bourgeoisie can also in principle advance their affairs, under the cover of the most "non-agent" and, non-dependent regimes, by means of other levers such as the conclusion of private treaties with the administrators of the regime, bribery, corruption and so on. But the desirable political situation for this capital - and in the final analysis for the capital of the domestic market of the dominated country - is the ever more complete political dependence and the direct leading of the regimes of such countries by its direct and agent representatives. Now let us see how Peykar deals with this matter.

In that part of the manifesto of Peykar on the war which is specified under the title of "the role of the imperialists in exploiting the Iran-Iraq war must not be forgotten", we read:

"the reactionary regimes of Iran and Iraq, despite both being parts of the world system of imperialism and its colonial system and dependent on imperialism in different forms, cannot be completely called as the agent of one imperialism"

Whoever does not know, Peykar knows quite well that the regime of any country - particularly when it is referred to with the adjective of reaction - has no other meaning but its government or a group of the political

representatives of the ruling class of that country who are holding the instruments of state power. And by explaining "the world system of imperialism and its colonial system" through regimes, Peykar has clearly converted imperialism into a world system of policies, governments and political powers. By such theoretical understanding of imperialism - imperialism, as the system of policies - Peykar comes up, on the attitude to the question of war, against the difficulty that "neither of the reactionary regimes of Iran and Iraq is an agent of one imperialism" (and this is not Peykar's fault, it is an injustice that the proletariat and the development of its class struggle has brought upon Peykar). Had each of the "reactionary regimes of Iran and Iraq" been the "agent of one imperialism", then Peykar could have easily applied the theory of imperialist wars - with the same understanding of imperialism as the system of policies - on the realities of the Iran-Iraq war and declared loudly: this war is the continuation of the same "policies", "contradictions", and "propaganda" of two imperialist powers and is "unjust"! But if "a rotten and discredited" theory "which is the winning card of the social-chauvinists" (Peykar itself quotes) cannot be employed in the service of explaining the reality, what should be done? One must stuff the reality into the theory and save the theory by whatever means possible and [thus] release oneself from political bankruptcy; and this is the whole art of Peykar! Peykar writes:

"That American imperialism can exploit this war for the benefit of its policy, is a matter of certainty which we have never doubted. But to the same extent we have no doubt or ambiguity that the anti-people

Iraqi regime is not the agent of American imperialism. This war cannot be in the first instance and with respect to [its] nature [anything] but the continuation of the same past policies and contradiction between the Islamic Republic and the Iraqi Ba'ath regimes, the policy and contradiction, which, both during the treacherous Shah's regime and the Islamic Republic regime, have had a clear history and identity". (Supplement to Peykar 75).

Let us see what Peykar defines this policy and contradiction as. The first phrase in the last paragraph of the part "the Iran-Iraq war, has a reactionary nature" is this: "thus the purpose of the reactionary Ba'ath and Islamic Republic regimes is, as well as their expansionist intentions ..." or "... since the establishment of the Islamic Republic regime in Iran, both regimes have advanced an expansionist policy towards each other's peoples." (Peykar 74), and also "the aim of the fascist Iraqi regime in this war, is the realization of its bourgeois hegemonist and expansionist wishes, the annexation of Khuzestan to Iraq, and the control of the Gulf and its Sheikdoms" (Our Positions, leaflet No.98). (Emphases ours).

The only meaning that expansionism can have in this era, is the wresting of the regions of influence, the spheres of production of imperialist super-profits, by one imperialist capital from the grip of another imperialist state; because, in the epoch of imperialism the division of the world between the capitalist associations has been completed and the world can only be re-divided. Peykar puts aside "the rotten and discredited idea of imperialism outside the borders which is the

winning card of the social-chauvinists" to the extent that it places imperialism on the sidelines of war, in the only sense that it understands imperialism, i.e., as imperialist powers which are however outside the borders!, "waiting to take a share of the cake for themselves". It depicts the two dominated countries as tiny imperialisms each of which follows "an expansionist policy towards each other's peoples" for the purpose of wresting the spheres of super-profit production from the grip of one another! Thus, whilst the previous use-value of the theory of extra-territorial violence and plunder is preserved, another use-value has also been discovered for it and Peykar has no fear, if there is no buyer for the previous use-value of this theory. It will by taking to the market the newly discovered form of the use-value of the previous theory, cry out: such a war is in general unjust and its nature is determined by the same expansionist policy by which the reactionary war of Iran and the ancient Assyria was determined!

3- THE ARBITRARY TACTIC OF PEYKAR AND ITS BASES

Having proved the unjustness of the war, Peykar claims that "the tactic of communists is determined by the nature of the war" and to prove its claim it calls Lenin to witness: "Recognition of this war as connected with national liberation leads to one line of socialist tactics; recognition of a war as imperialist, predatory and aggressive, leads to another line." And Peykar interprets Lenin's words thus:

"i.e., our tactic in the unjust war is the certain and immediate stoppage of war with the proletariats of other countries and

the waging of war against [one's] own bourgeoisie, and our tactic in the just war is active participation in it. But if because of the preponderance of the petty-bourgeoisie in our homeland this stratum influences the Marxist-Leninist organisations and makes them to contend this Leninist tactic, then we shall remind them of allegiance to principles". (Peykar 75)

We should also like to remind, against this wave of petty-bourgeois interpretation of Lenin in "our homeland", the necessity of careful consideration to and sincerity in [quoting] Lenin's words and then [we shall recall] the tactical principles of Lenin. Lenin has categorically and clearly said (Peykari comrade look carefully, Peykar 75, p.15, second column, lines 12 & 13 !): "a war as imperialist" and the "war as connected with national liberation" and not "just" and "unjust" war! Imperialist war is "unjust", but not every "unjust" war is imperialist. A war as connected with national liberation is "just", but not every "just" war is a war which is connected with national liberation. Such generalization of specific phenomena is the first deception in petty-bourgeois and opportunist theoretical fraudulence. And then later, Lenin draws up his tactics in the concrete attitude to any concrete war. Imperialist war is a war for the maintenance, preservation and continuation of the domination of moribund capitalism and is the concrete emergence of the antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which has become exceedingly acute. Leninist tactic of turning this war into a civil war relies not upon the "just" or a "unjust" nature of this war, but wholly on the profound and fundamen-

tal realities of the mutual relations between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; and it assesses war as a politico-social situation or conditions which, in view of its resulting objective conditions, provides the possibility of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Or, if you wish, we claim that Lenin's tactic is deduced not from the war but from the examination of those realities concerning those relations which the war itself is also a result of. Likewise with a war whose aim is national liberation. The tactic of participation in this war is deduced not from the nature of the war nor unconditionally but from the relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. A proletariat which has not yet passed its stages of development; and which must participate in the war against despotism and national oppression alongside the democratic bourgeoisie - while exposing the inconsistency of this bourgeoisie, propagandising its basic enmity with it, etc. - so that through participation in this war and in the light of the gains resulting from it, it can immediately start and organise its class struggle against the bourgeoisie.

One who does not wish to attribute his poverty of thought to Lenin and conceal it behind Lenin's words, must firstly consider the present war not as a generally "unjust" war, but specifically as a war which has broken out, 1) in the epoch of imperialism and within the concrete framework of the division of the world into metropolitan and dominated countries; 2) between two dominated capitalist countries and within the confines of the imperialist relations of the existing imperialist divisions. Secondly, and for drawing up a truly proletarian tactic, he must have examined before anything else, the more pro-

found and fundamental realities concerning the mutual relations of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie within these confines of the existing imperialist divisions, from which the war too has resulted, and must have defined the real content of the bourgeoisie's policy. What are these realities? The occurrence of the Iranian revolution. And on the one hand the loss of the desirable form of the political domination of imperialism over Iran, and thereby the weakening of the foundations of the political hegemony of American imperialism over the region; disunity and dispersion among the ranks of Iranian bourgeoisie, and at another level and because of the previous dominant role of this bourgeoisie in the region, the disunity and dispersion within the ranks of the bourgeoisie of the region; the shaking of the instruments of state power of the Iranian bourgeoisie and the imposition of the democratic gains of the Uprising on the present government of this bourgeoisie. And on the other hand, the rapid development of the workers' and communist movements of Iran under the shelter of the democratic gains of the Uprising; the strengthening of workers' and communist organisations; the presence of the masses of people in the arena of political struggle; and the reflection of this revolution in the struggle of the masses in other countries of the region. On this basis, the real content of the policy of the entire bourgeoisie in this particular region of the existing divisions dominated by American imperialism, is composed of the decisive and complete suppression of the Iranian revolution, the revival of the desirable form of the political domination of American imperialism, the provision and the re-consolidation of its complete political hegemony over the region; and the re-establish-

ment of the internal unity of the ranks of the bourgeoisie. The war between the Iraqi Ba'ath regime and the Iranian Islamic Republic regime, despite having emerged from the midst of their previous differences and past conflicts and their past propaganda, is the continuation of this policy and only this policy.

Prior to having drawn up tactics in the face of the war, one must also have defined the tactical policy, or the policy, of the proletariat. The tactical policy of the proletariat, if it is to be based on the aforementioned realities in the existing mutual relations of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, will be: the defence of the revolution and its democratic gains; the struggle for the development of these gains and the prevention of the unification of the ranks of the bourgeoisie and the consolidation of the foundations of its power, and its weakening in the service of education and organisation of the proletariat; the extension and promotion of the struggle of the proletariat to its communist struggle; the formation of the communist party; the collection of forces, preparation and the acquiring of readiness for the assault and seizure of the political power. The outbreak of war and the change in the conditions of the struggle of classes, places before us the task of correctly assessing the new situation with respect to the balance of class forces, and adapting our tactical policy to this new situation with regard to the methods, slogans, and forms of struggle, and determine where "the centre of gravity" for the education and organisation of the proletariat lies.

The real political situation from the

viewpoint of the relations of classes in the present moment is as follows: 1) In order to re-establish the unity of the ranks of the bourgeoisie, the monopoly bourgeoisie under the hegemony of American imperialism is endeavouring to speed up and facilitate the process of substitution of the Islamic Republic regime with, or its transformation to, a government of its direct representatives, through forcible means. The Islamic republic regime for maintaining its existence, is more than ever basing its foundations on the chauvinist sentiments which will be placed in the service of its transformation. 2) The petty-bourgeois democratic forces and also the opportunists have placed themselves in the service of the internal policies of the bourgeoisie and are being driven behind the liberal-bourgeoisie. 3) The communist movement is under the domination of opportunism. The influence of communism among the workers' movement is little, and the backward masses of workers have been imbued with chauvinist sentiments.

Do we place the proletariat in the service of the solution of these internal disputes, the unification and the strengthening of the ranks of the bourgeoisie or shall we be able to utilize these internal disputes of the bourgeoisie, for the evermore weakening of the bourgeoisie and for the greater education and organisation of the proletariat? This is the fundamental question which the real political situation of the present moment projects before us with full salience; and the whole petty bourgeois social-chauvinist and anarcho-pacifist policies are distinguished from the proletarian internationalist policy on the basis of the answer that they offer to this question.

One who has correctly assessed the new political situation and wants to remain faithful to the proletarian policy, must, without reducing the struggle against the Islamic Republic regime, change the method of struggle against this component of the bourgeois-imperialist counter-revolution and choose such a method which corresponds to the line-up of all the actual forces of the enemy at the present moment. At the present moment, we can neither fight in the service of the [Islamic Republic] regime against the invasion of Iraq nor can we serve the invasion by limiting the struggle to the struggle against the regime only. The defeat or victory of any of the parties in conflict which leads to the consolidation of the ranks of the bourgeoisie, is counted as a defeat from the viewpoint of the proletarian struggle. Only the presentation of and the insistence on proletarian demands against the Islamic Republic regime, and independent struggle against any kind of foreign invasion can prevent the strengthening and the consolidation of the ranks of the bourgeoisie and lead to the strengthening and promotion of the struggle of the proletariat. Arm the workers! The freedom of political activity must be secured! Censorship must be abolished! Political prisoners must be freed! The expenses of war must be paid off by the capitalists and their government! Capitalists drop your bombs on each other and not on workers! The hands of Pasdars and Committees* off the private lives of the people!, etc. The presentation of such demands and the attraction of the practically existing workers' forces to them and, on the basis of the realization of these

* Armed guards of the Islamic Republic regime
-Ed.

demands, participating in the war, will only and only mean that workers have defended their revolution against the war of the capitalists; and are struggling for gains which they have achieved in the struggle against the whole of the bourgeoisie, and now the extension and the realization of these gains too will be against the whole of the bourgeoisie and will weaken the ranks of the bourgeoisie, even more.

On the other hand, we have correctly determined the centre of gravity for the education and organisation of the proletariat at the present moment. War has overshadowed all the other arenas of the struggle and has fanned chauvinist sentiments in the backward working masses. Only by presenting the real interests of the proletariat in this arena, by educating the proletarian forces in the spirit of class struggle against the whole of the bourgeoisie, in the struggle for their real class interests, and by organising the vanguard proletarian forces in this struggle, will we be able to both struggle against bourgeois chauvinism, and [also] extend and promote the class struggle of the proletariat.

Thus, the defence of the revolution and the struggle for the extension of its gains, can be the only real internationalist tactic of the Iranian proletariat. It is internationalist because, from the objective aspect, by weakening ever more the ranks of the bourgeoisie in the region and by preventing the consolidation of the foundations of the power of the bourgeoisie, it helps the struggle of the proletariat of not only Iraq, but also of the whole region and consolidates the struggle of the Iranian proletariat as the main fortress of revolution in the region.

It is internationalist because it is based on that policy which the proletariat of Iraq and the region must also adopt, and by the precise assessment of the conditions of their struggle mould their tactics on the basis of. The struggle against imperialist reaction and violence, the extension of the class struggle of the proletariat in the light of and using the gains of this struggle; struggle against, and the rejection of opportunism and anarchism, such is that real policy. Our internationalist task commands that to our capacity we materially and morally support this policy and the forces advancing it in Iraq. That in which concrete tactics such a tactical policy finds its practical meaning in the present conditions of Iraq, requires the concretization of the actual relations of classes in Iraq and of other decisive components of a tactic. If because of the domination of opportunism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, our communist movement cannot help the Iraqi proletariat in the concrete drawing up of such tactics (which of course our internationalist task commands) it is only expressive of one of the profound weaknesses of the communist movement of Iran.

But the tactic put forward by Peykar, the tactic of "turning the reactionary war into a war against the reaction", the tactic of proposing uprising against the war, firstly, places the Iranian proletariat in the service of the solution of the internal disputes of the bourgeoisie; instead of educating and organising the proletariat with the political task of the present moment, instead of strengthening the proletarian struggle, it wastes the vanguard proletarian forces and places them in the service of and for the strengthening of the bourgeois camp. Secondly,

this tactic is by no means internationalist and it is only internationalist in the manner of Kievsky (monism in the form of the tactic and not in its content)! This tactic is anti-internationalist, both from the objective aspect, since by driving the Iranian proletariat to defeat, it leads to the consolidation of imperialist force and reaction in the whole region and also, since, it is based on that petty-bourgeois policy which stands completely against proletarian internationalism. And the Iraqi proletariat must not adopt this policy, since this policy, i.e., populist revisionism, will drive to defeat the Iraqi proletariat in the struggle for its class aims!

To await the great act of insurrection, and to place it as alternative for the tasks of the day and the present moment, the evasion of politics and education of the proletariat in the spirit of class struggle, the lack of understanding of the significance of the struggle for small gains in the extension and development of the class struggle of the proletariat and not seeing the process of development of this class struggle to an insurrection, is nothing else but the most elementary, the crudest and the most explicit form of anarchism. And this is what Peykar has displayed under the cover of the Bolshevik tactic of "turning the reactionary war into a civil war". Later on, we shall see how this anarchism leads to pacifism in practice but let us first see from which bases Peykar's tactics have been deduced.

In the part of its manifesto, under the title of "To take up arms, is uprising for the seizure of mass power", Peykar writes:

"If the proletariat enters the war from its position , this will have no other meaning but uprising against the bourgeoisie, and if workers, peasants and other toilers enter the war from an independent position this will have no other meaning but uprising against imperialism and the ruling dependent capitalism in Iran". (Emphasis is Peykar's)

We have previously and particularly in the article "Struggle Over the Realization of Popular Socialism"* (Besoooy-e-Sosyalism, and 2) discussed in detail about this populist (revisionist) distinction between "uprising against the bourgeoisie" and "uprising against imperialism and the ruling dependent capitalism in Iran". It suffices in here to remind the Marxist meaning of these phrases. "Imperialism and the ruling dependent capitalism in Iran" has no other meaning but the economic relations in Iran, the capitalism of imperialism in Iran, capitalism in Iran as a dominated country in the world system of imperialist capitalism. "Uprising against imperialism and the ruling dependent capitalism in Iran" can only be understood in the sense of uprising against the whole of capitalist relations in Iran, and this uprising against the capitalist relations of production is the very great act to which Mr. Proudhon with his "exchange banks", Owen with his "labour-fund" and finally Bakunin with his theory on the abolition of

* See "A Discussion About the Content of the Victory of the Democratic Revolution of Iran", Translation Series, No.4 -Ed.

the state, called the people, and in so doing they turned themselves into a curtain concealing the bourgeoisie. The first step of Marxism was that it pulled out the bourgeoisie, as a class that represents these relations, from under the curtain which the great protagonists of the court of popular socialism, had spread over it and elucidated that the only way for the overthrow of capitalist relations consists of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat, the development of this struggle to an uprising against the whole of the bourgeoisie, the smashing of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie, the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialism. (the repetition of these facts is shameful but what should be done when there are still people in "our homeland" who by repeating Proudhonist nonsense under the name of Marx and Lenin turn themselves into the curtain concealing the bourgeoisie.).

With the outbreak of war and the re-appearance of the violent policy of the bourgeoisie in the political arena of the country, Peykar, from the Proudhonist idea of "uprising against imperialism and the ruling dependent capitalism in Iran" - the idea which had manifested itself, during the short period of the post-uprising liberal and "compromising" policy of the bourgeoisie, in vastly "economist" deductions - has now resorted to a Bakunist deduction. Uprising against reaction, the overthrow of reaction, without the slightest idea about the degree of development of the class struggle of the proletariat, its class organisation and the extent of the rallying of the non-proletarian toiling forces under the communist banner of

the proletariat and the demands put forward by it. The overthrow of reaction in the hope of the "government of toilers" or the luminosity and the brilliance of the "national", "democratic", "peaceful" and "just" capitalism of Iran.

And Peykar draws this inference precisely from the "independent position of workers, peasants and other toilers", i.e., from the position of petty-producers. Since, as Peykar itself says, "if workers enter the war from their own position (Peykar wants to say "if workers start the civil war from their own position")*, this will have no other meaning but uprising against the bourgeoisie", and such an uprising against the bourgeoisie is the continuation of the political and communist struggle of the proletariat, and is such a stage of the class struggle of the proletariat in which, 1) the proletariat has acquired its class organisation, the communist party, and the vanguard stratum of workers who are organised under the communist banner, enjoy the support of the largest working masses. 2) Among the working masses the general tendency and spirit for supporting the most decisive and courageous acts against the bourgeoisie has started and this spirit is escalating. 3) The enemy forces have sufficiently worn themselves out in an struggle beyond the scope of their strength. 4) Petty-bourgeois forces, have separated themselves from the bourgeoisie and have discredited themselves in a form distinct from the bourgeoisie and in the petty-bourgeois milieu the support for proletarian demands and thus the acceptance of the hegemony of the proletariat has been strengthened. 5) Technically the proletariat is in such a degree of preparation and readiness that it can advance the offensive without a pause, retreat or

* U.C.M.'s brackets -Ed.

defence - since defence is the death of the uprising. This does not mean that from the objective point of view an uprising could only necessarily take place as the product of the programme, tactics and the conscious struggle of the proletariat, nor does it mean that it is only in such a case that the proletariat would take part in the uprising. The February Uprising was an example of an uprising in which none of the above preconditions (excluding the third point) existed, yet communists were demanding the ever greater participation of the proletariat in it. But any uprising which starts in such a lack of the mentioned pre-conditions, is not considered as the continuation of the communist struggle of the proletariat, or a stage of its class struggle against the bourgeoisie, but it amounts to a political change which must be regarded as the conditions of the struggle and the participation or non-participation in it, must be assessed from the viewpoint of the interests of the proletariat.

Those who have demarcated with the "guerrilla policy" in form [only], without having been able to divorce themselves from its theoretical foundation, cannot help breaching these facts in the proletarian armed struggle, when the violent forms of [struggle] are posed by any upheaval resulting from the change in the forms of the bourgeoisie's policies. From the viewpoint of Peykar which still moves from the position of petty-producers, the uprising, 1) is the continuation of the struggle of toilers, or "workers, peasants and other toilers from an independent position" against reaction; 2) [is] when toilers have rallied behind "one of the most revolutionary and consistent organisa-

tions"; 3) [is when] the toilers have rid themselves of illusions towards the reaction, and the tendency for taking up arms has been instigated in them; 4) can be a regional act. And this fourth point is indicative of the fact that Peykar has not yet detached itself from the "semi-colonial, semi-feudal" thesis and cannot believe that Iran has become capitalist and that in a capitalist country the revolutionary situation cannot be regional. Since, firstly the revolutionary crisis in a capitalist country takes form on the basis of an economic crisis which has by no means a regional aspect - such as it happens in a semi-feudal society on the basis of famine and such factors - and is nationwide. Secondly it manifests itself in the crisis of a government which, too, has a nationwide character. And thirdly the workers' movement is set in motion which also is a nationwide movement.

Peykar is very fond of referring to Kurdistan, as the regional emergence of a revolutionary situation. But here, too, it commits the very sin of generalizing specific phenomena, since the present movement of the Kurdish people is [firstly] the continuation of the democratic revolution of Iran in this region of the country. Secondly this movement is a national movement in form. And finally since the Kurdish toilers had shown readiness to take up arms in 1967-68, too!

4- THE INEVITABLE OSCILLATION OF PEYKAR BETWEEN ANARCHISM AND PACIFISM.

We have said before that anarchism means waiting for the great act of uprising and evading the political tasks of the day and the present moment and thus leading the proletariat to capitulation before the bourgeoisie and turning it into a static basis

for the internal politics and developments of the bourgeoisie. Peykar which issued on 24.9.1980 (supplement to Peykar No.73) the tactical decree of "Where the masses are ready, uprising and mass armed struggle are on the agenda and in other regions the preparation for them". After referring to its source of tactic, i.e., the "masses", amorphous masses of human beings which [Peykar] does not define any of the definite historical-class interests of, in a given time and space, apart from their desire for liberation from the yoke of "reaction" and "oppression", it writes:

"The danger which can threaten us is this pacifism. If we say that this war is a war between two reactions and only content ourselves with handing out grandiloquent leaflets against the war, it is evident that in practice we have fallen into pacifism and have served our own bourgeoisie in a different way. It is not possible to publicise among the masses from outside, we must be among them, since masses, unlike intellectuals, learn not from books, but from their own objective experience. At the time of war, when the masses are under bombardment, or are under the assault of the enemy or are being brutally massacred, we cannot sit at home and resort to anti-war propaganda. We must be besides the masses in all arenas and show them in practice that this war is futile and reactionary."

(Supplement to Peykar 75)

Here, Peykar sophistically confounds a class question with an organisational matter. An organisation can be completely active - as Peykar is, with the admirable number of

its leaflets, cup-slips, texts, supplements and newsletters - at the same time as actively drawing the class to surrender and pacifism - as the Organisation of Peykar is doing with its extensive propaganda. Peykar enumerates quite a few tasks for itself and its supporters, it encourages them to even go to the battlefield with the masses, since "masses learn from objective experience". And to justify itself, Peykar resorts to history and the participation of the Bolsheviks in the 9th January*; "Yes comrades, despite saying to the masses that this war is a reactionary war but since the masses participate in this war, we too will be at their sides in order to educate them, whether under bombardment, or in trench, or in shelter, whether as doctor, or as soldier but if we participate in 9th January, we ourselves do not propagandise for 9th January." Now let us suppose that a supporter of Peykar is present in the trench in the tall stature of a soldier of the Islamic regime and [is] besides a worker. "The objective experience" which is one artillery shell, for instance detaches the arm of the worker from his body and the worker, screaming, asks his teacher, the supporter of Peykar: Mr. communist! what are we workers supposed to do in this damned war? The supporter of Peykar replies: "workers must not participate in a war which has no other result but fratricide, destitution and ruin for the working class and toilers of both Iran and Iraq and which, on the contrary, enables the capitalists to achieve

* 9th January 1905, when a demonstration of St. Petersburg workers marching towards the Winter Palace was fired at by the Tsarist troops -Ed.

their anti-people objectives"! (Peykar 76, reply to the question of what is the task of workers against the present war?). On one hand even resorting to history does not save Peykar since it directly rules against it. "9th January" was the struggle of Russian workers, though in the backward form of this struggle. And to compare the present war with "9th January" is only the sanctification of this war, and which permits Peykar to fight in the trench of its own bourgeoisie as a soldier, with the good intention of revealing for the masses the "futility" and the "reactionary [nature]" of the war and of warning them against this "futile and reactionary war". Peykar also resorts to the permissibility of "tactical defeat" and "swimming against the current". But it forgets that every definite tactic governs a definite aim and if the tactic reaches its aim it becomes victorious, and if it does not lead to this aim it is defeated. One who adopts a tactic with the purpose of not reaching its defined objective, is only mimicking Hamlet who went to face defeat beforehand in order to prove the futility of struggle.

Peykar's pacifism is not in the inactivity of the organisation of Peykar for revealing the "futility" and the "reactionary [nature] of the war" but in its fully active attempt to stop the class struggle, in its evasion of the political tasks of the day for educating and preparing the proletariat against the policies of the bourgeoisie, and in its endeavour to draw the proletariat to surrender in the face of the assault of the bourgeoisie in the expectation of the great act of uprising and the pleasant day of the masses' rising. The class meaning of this pacifism, too, is nothing else but service to the court of the bourgeoisie.

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